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Supreme Court orders a return to rule by the Constitution

THE U. S. SUPREME COURT, in a series of decisions announced June 17, ruled that:

- John T. Watkins, a union official, be freed from a contempt of Congress conviction based on his refusal under the First Amendment to name past political associates before the House Committee on Un-American Activities;
- Five of 14 Communists convicted under the Smith Act in California be freed and the remaining nine granted a new trial;
- Dr. Paul M. Sweezy, co-editor of **Monthly Review** and noted Marxist scholar, be freed of a contempt conviction arising from a state witch-hunt in New Hampshire;
- John Stewart Service, a career diplomat who was one of the first targets of Sen. Joseph McCarthy, was wrongfully discharged by Secy. of State Dean Acheson as a security risk in 1951.

A RETURN TO SANITY: The combined effect of the rulings announced Monday and other recent ones is to reaffirm the basic constitutional rights of individuals, to suggest definite limits on the powers of Congressional investigating committees, and to warn the government against abuse of its powers. Although the Court has overturned no existing laws, it has by now set up a body of opinion to curb the government's reckless treatment of the individual in the name of "national security."

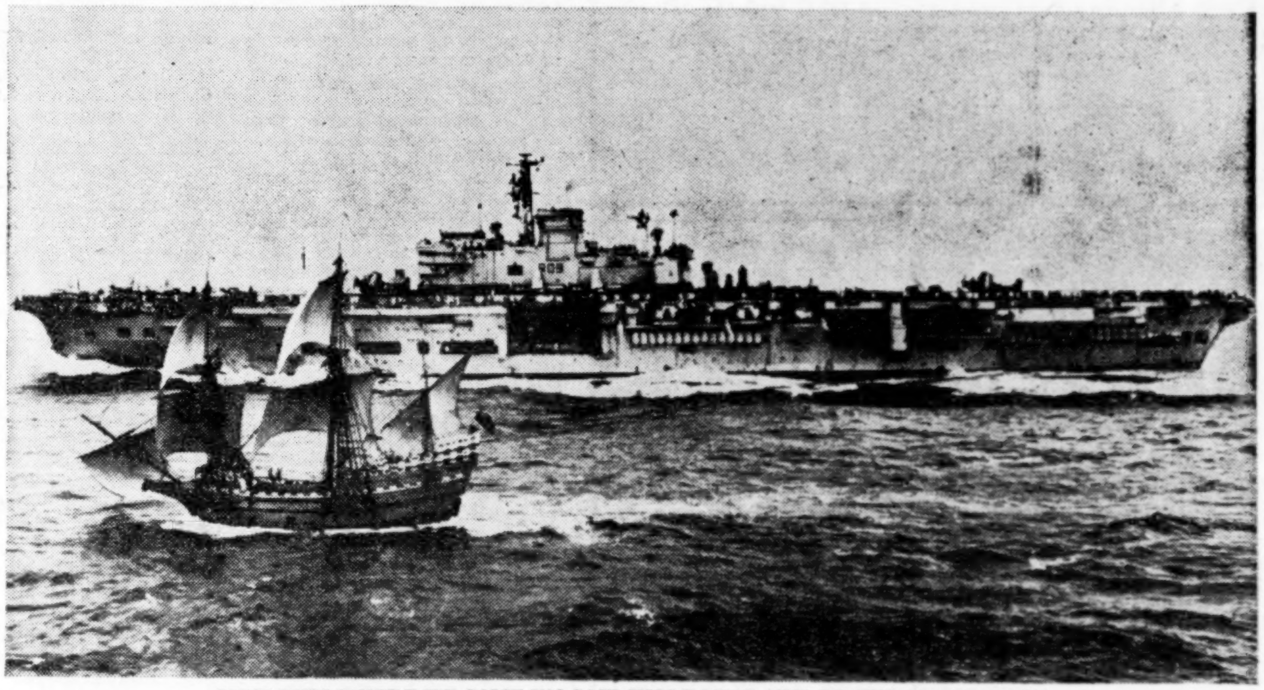
The Natl. Lawyers Guild hailed the new decisions "as representing further evidence of a return to the liberal American tradition with regard to the freedoms guaranteed by the First Amendment." Royal W. France, Guild executive secy., said his organization "has consistently maintained that the Smith Act violates the guarantees laid down in the Frist Amendment and that the type of inquisition carried on by Congressional committees and under state authorities under the pretense that all kinds of questions could be asked of people regarding their political beliefs represents a dangerous trend in American life. We therefore hail the action of the Supreme Court in these cases as a great victory for the principles upon which our country was founded."

Dr. France pointed out that the attor-

(Continued on Page 9)

8 PAGES NEXT WEEK

Beginning with the July 1 issue (next week) The GUARDIAN will be published in its summertime eight-page edition until after Labor Day, when it will resume its regular 12-page size. Watch for special coverage from staff correspondents who will be traveling abroad.



ISN'T THIS WHERE WE CAME IN? SAID HMS ROYAL ARK TO THE MAYFLOWER

Well, yes, it was—in Plymouth, 337 years ago, and there's been a lot of empire over the dam since. Above, the British aircraft carrier passes the Mayflower II, replica of the original, as it neared the end of its 54-day journey to Plymouth, Mass., mainly in the interest of selling British goods to the ex-colonials. Do you suppose if the original Mayflower had never made the trip there would have been a John Foster Dulles?

INJUNCTION BARS ALL OPERATIONS

N. Y. State ban on Foreign Born group

AS THIS ISSUE of the GUARDIAN goes to press, the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born has been placed under temporary injunction restraining it from operating in New York State. At a hearing June 19 in State Supreme Court the state sought to have the injunction made permanent.

This move brings to a climax an action begun in 1955 by State Atty. Gen. (now U. S. Senator) Jacob Javits to force the ACPFB to register as a charitable organization under a State Social Welfare Law passed in 1954 to curb charity rackets. The ACPFB has been contesting this action in the courts and had obtained a stay of an order signed June 3 by Supreme Court Justice Aron Steuer directing the ACPFB to register under the 1954 law.

The current injunction, obtained by Javits' successor, Louis Lefkowitz, in effect restrains the ACPFB from continuing its court fight by denying it the right to raise funds, retain counsel or even use mimeograph paper, ink and postage to mobilize public support.

A STATEMENT ISSUED by Abner Green, ACPFB executive secretary, through the Committee's lawyers called Lefkowitz's action "unwarranted and undemocratic" and pointed to the "damning coincidence between the State Attorney General's indecent haste and the fact that in recent weeks the American Committee has scored important victories in United States Supreme Court decisions in defending the rights of foreign-born Americans."

Lefkowitz was for many years chairman of the law committee of the New York Republican State Committee and closely associated in New York politics with Herbert Brownell, now U. S. Attorney General. Brownell's efforts to force the ACPFB to register as a Communist-front organization under the McCarran Act have been stymied by Supreme Court reversal of the original McCarran Act proceeding against the Communist Party.

Green's statement accused Lefkowitz of "cooperating with his Washington superiors in the Republican Party . . . in his efforts to destroy the Amercan Committee."

THE RECENT SUPREME COURT victories referred to in Green's statement were affirmations of lower court decisions in the cases of George Witkovich of Chicago and Mrs. Antonia Sentner of St. Louis nullifying the repressive features of the supervisory parole provisions of the McCarran-Walter immigration law. The ACPFB defended these cases in conjunction with the Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born in behalf of Witkovich and a St. Louis committee to defend Mrs. Sentner, whose husband is a Smith Act victim.

In resisting the order to register as a

(Continued on Page 3)

'IMMUNITY' LAW VICTIM CALLED AGAIN

Will they try to jail Ed Fitzgerald for life?

By Lawrence Emery

A THEORETICALLY - POSSIBLE life sentence, served on the instalment plan, faced Edward J. Fitzgerald last week as he was subpenaed again after serving a six-month sentence under the Compulsory Testimony Act of 1954 to appear before a grand jury in New York on June 17.

Fitzgerald, who rejected an offer of "immunity" in his first appearance under the law in 1955, invoked the Fifth Amendment and refused to testify. He was sentenced to six months in prison and his conviction was upheld by the Court of Appeals; the Supreme Court on Oct. 8, 1956, declined to review the case. Fitzgerald surrendered to serve his term on Oct. 29 and was released from Federal prison last March 29. Still determined not to submit to forced testimony, Fitzgerald is now threatened with another conviction for the same "offense."

Fitzgerald, a government researcher and economist during the New Deal period, is one of some 80 persons named by Elizabeth Bentley in 1948 as members of "spy rings."

MULTIPLE JEOPARDY: The day Fitzgerald began serving his first sentence, Asst. U.S. Atty. Thomas A. Bolan told newsmen that upon his release he would be asked the same questions again and that he would be prosecuted a second time for contempt if he persisted in refusing to answer. Fitzgerald's counsel, Milton H. Friedman, called Bolan's announcement an "amazing statement" of a government intention "to keep Edward J. Fitzgerald in jail for the rest of his life for something which is, at worst, a single offense." He pointed out that the government had never revealed its intention while Fitzgerald's case was still before the courts, but waited until he was locked up. He said:

(Continued on Page 10)

Inside This Issue

DISARMAMENT TALKS
U.S. is on a spot . . . . . p. 3
CANADIAN ELECTIONS
And what they mean . . p. 4
MIDDLE EAST SURVEY
Is peace possible? . . . . . p. 5
EMPTY WHITE HOUSE
Who's keeping store . . p. 6
JAMES WELDON JOHNSON
A tribute by Du Bois . . . p. 7
MR. NIXON, DR. KING
A Washington meeting p. 8

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THE MAIL BAG

Share the victory

ALBANY, CALIF.

At last! After four years, victory in the Supreme Court! And we feel we owe a debt almost unrepayable for the warm, ever-present support given by the NATIONAL GUARDIAN. Because you shared your pages with us and our union brothers and sisters in Bayard, N. M., our long strike and later the arrest which grew out of this struggle was rewarded with funds, letters and gifts from thousands of new friends all over the U. S. Such is the GUARDIAN's influence, support came even from across the seas.

GUARDIAN readers have a bond unique in this country. It is because our paper unreservedly gives press coverage to mankind's causes. Specifically, for us, from 1951 on, you told the world about the New Mexican miners and the legal developments of our case.

To attorneys John McTernan and Nathan Witt, our public gratitude. Their long legal fight on our behalf displayed a brilliance and determination which was constantly reassuring. With the Mine-Mill union they combine to provide the bedrock necessary for a strong defense.

We must record our thanks, too, to Albert E. Kahn, a writer familiar to all GUARDIAN people for his documented books on American civil liberties. His work to uncover the Matusow story helped to make a Supreme Court reversal inevitable. This difficult and dangerous exposure of the wanton use of political delinquents as informers by the Justice Dept. accomplished far more than the mere publication of a sensational book **False Witness.**

Clinton and Virginia Jencks

It do

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

On June 5, I read in the **N.Y. Times** a statement which puzzled me. In fact, it kept me awake that night. It said:

"It has been decided that the President has no intention of answering Mr. Khrushchev," James C. Hagerty, White House press secretary, said today.

First I read this as an announcement of the intentions of the President on an important matter. Then I read it again. It was, I realized, the statement of a decision; but of whose decision? Not one made by the President. Yet who decides the "intentions" of the President but the President himself? Was this curious statement simply another specimen of White House English; or did the real truth slip out inadvertently? Does someone in the White House have the power to decide what the President intends to do and then to announce it to the public and, we hope, to the President himself? If so, who is or are this "It" which exercises this extraordinary power?

We are getting quite used in this generation to seeing books signed by distinguished personages which they did not write, nor even pretend they did. When the President or other officials make a speech, it has lately become standard procedure to relate who wrote it and explain discrepancies in speeches by referring to change of authorship. But apparently we now are face to face with a new development. Perhaps it is customary already for the Chief Executive, waiting for his helicopter, to shout impatiently:

"Hey, there! Where's Hagerty? He hasn't told me yet what I intend to say today about disarmament! Tell him to shake a leg. It's golf time."

Of course, perhaps I'm all wrong and this is only another specimen of current White House patois. But it does read queer, don't it?

W. E. B. Du Bois

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

LAS VEGAS, NEV.—This is the best year in history for the non-ancient but none the less honorable pastime of atom-bomb watching. For the first time, the Atomic Energy Commission's Nevada test program will extend through the summer tourist season, into September.

And for the first time, The A.E.C. has released a partial schedule, so that tourists interested in seeing a nuclear explosion can adjust itineraries accordingly.

N. Y. Times, 6/9

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with every entry. Winner this week: L. Freund, Brooklyn, N. Y.

There were six entries of the same clipping this week. The letter with the earliest postmark was chosen.

Encore

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

The whole family is humming the Weavers album. My 2-year-old goes around singing **Goodnight Irene.** In these days when progressive activities, especially for kids, are far and few between, the Weavers album brings some real Americana to the family and opens the way to have all kinds of discussions **E. B.**

All hands, see p. 12—Editor

Hands across the sea

LONDON, ENGLAND

Many of us in Britain who are engaged in developing the Socialist Forum Movement welcome the recent establishment of a sister-organization in the U.S.—the American Forum for Socialist Education, as reported recently in the GUARDIAN. We extend our best wishes to A. J. Muste and his colleagues, confident in their ability to develop and stimulate the widest and most penetrating discussion among socialists of all varieties for the renewal of the movement's elan, ideals and intellectual depth.

Our Socialist Forum Movement, which is rapidly expanding throughout the country, aims similarly at providing material and space for the confrontation of all views in a spirit of mutual tolerance and comradeship.

We hope that the emergence of such organizations will mark a new point in the history of socialism and that as a result of an exchange of views, experience, discussion and debate we may strengthen the progressive forces of both our countries.

There is now, more than ever, an urgent need to demonstrate our ability to unite and to forge the necessary links between socialists, not only within national boundaries, but on an international scale.

I admire the courage of American socialists in their perseverance, dignity and work in the face of persecution and hatred. I must also add that in recent months, since reading the GUARDIAN regularly, I have found it to be one of the most important political weeklies and a sheer joy to read.

Michael Segal, Editor,
FORUM—journal of the Socialist Forum Movement
38 Warrington Crescent, London W. 9.

Lancaster in London Daily Express

"Cheer up, darling, in a month of two's time we shall all have been made to see that the whole unfortunate incident was really a blessing in disguise."

3 R's at 83

LAMAR, MO.

Why must we issue bonds to improve or establish public property? Now a bond is issued, a banker buys the bond, puts it up for security, gets the cash (less 1/10 of 1% for the printing); which he lets out at good interest—and also gets interest on bonds deposited. All of which the tax payer pays.

How can the problem be considered anything but insanity? Or is it my limited lumberjack 3 R's education at 83?

R. G. Kirsch

Man on two horses

FAIRDEALING, MO.

Replying to your inquiry on how the name Fairdealing, Mo., came to be given to a little village and a U. S. Post Office, here's the story:

One hundred years ago or about that, there was but one house standing where the village of Fairdealing, Mo., now stands. The inhabitant was a farmer. One evening near dark, a man came riding into this ranch house from the west, riding bareback on a horse and leading another horse. The horses' feet were very sore; the man, too, was sore but not in his feet. The farmer invited the stranger to stay the night. On coming in, the stranger noticed a saddle hanging on the porch. In the morning, stranger and saddle were gone. But the wayfarer left the other horse for the farmer. When a village grew and the P.O. was established here it was given the name of Fairdealing.

J. T. Landis

MORE LETTERS ON P. 11

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REPORT TO READERS

A day to remember

THE WARREN SUPREME COURT, with two new members sometimes not sitting and one chronic dissenter, nevertheless has vociferously offered the traditional concept of civil liberty in America a new, fighting chance.

● The Court's next-to-last decision day of the present term—June 17, 1957—must have immediate and decisive impact on (1) the conduct of Congressional investigations; (2) the trials of all Smith Act victims now in prospect or under appeal throughout the nation; and (3) the powers of Federal agencies over the careers of government employes in application of loyalty-security programs.

● Earlier in the present term, the Warren Court began the dismantling of the iniquitous Walter-McCarran immigration law; and literally pulled the rug out from under the FBI, Immigration Dept. and the Dept. of Justice generally in the use of paid witnesses and illegal evidence. The Court also wiped out ancient "sedition" laws (practically, "Little Smith Acts") in 27 states, as having been superseded by the Smith Act. And while it has not set aside its 1951 decision affirming the constitutionality of the Smith Act, it has so limited application of it that there remains little basis for further prosecution under it.

● In addition, the same Court has in effect served notice on the Dept. of Justice and the district courts that it will have no truck with methods of railroading union members to jail on alleged perjuries under the Taft-Hartley non-communist affidavits. The one man in America now serving time on such a charge, Dayton's "Red" Hupman, may take comfort from this and a concerted effort is certainly indicated to obtain his immediate freedom. For others better known, former Fur Union president Ben Gold, Hugh Bryson of the former Marine Coks & Stewards and Clinton Jencks, formerly of the Mine, Mill union, the indication is that the Dept. of Justice has seen the handwriting on the wall, and will pursue them no farther. (There remain two mass "conspiracy" indictments, against Mine, Mill leaders and several Cleveland individuals grouped around Marie and Fred Haug, former unionists and Progressive Party leaders.)

● Furthermore, in the Grunewald case—involving not a "left-wing" case but an income tax fraud—the Court affirmed the Fifth Amendment in ringing terms as a right which no court has the power to misconstrue—a ruling which may have effect in the Sobell appeal for a new trial as well as in countless other instances throughout the nation.

IT IS HEART-BREAKING therefore, in the light of these massive changes in the highest court's view toward repression in America, that the same day's newspapers should have also reported the suicide of a young and brilliant scientist facing inquisition before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in its second visit to San Francisco in a year; and the callous comment of the Committee counsel, Frank Tavenner, that the dead man—cancer research scientist William K. Sherwood of Pacific Grove—might have taken with him in death information "that would have been significant to the security of this country."

The dead man left a statement which he had prepared to deliver before the Committee that "the Committee's trail is strewn with blasted lives and the wreckage of youthful careers." In his death note he said: "I would love to spend the next few years in laboratories, and I would hate to spend them in jail." So, at 41, a young man who believed he had found a link between cancer, schizophrenia and some kinds of heart disease, drank a lethal dose of chemicals and died four hours later.

IT IS OUTRAGEOUS, further, that in this same week of political liberation, a Grand Jury in New York should be undertaking again to question Edward Fitzgerald, who served a prison term for preferring his right to use the Fifth Amendment than to accept "immunity" from mythical prosecution.

AS A STARTER, in giving popular force to the Supreme Court's best season in 20 years, the House Un-American Committee ought to be run out of town everywhere it ventures on its current "tour"; a freedom campaign should start for "Red" Hupman; the Sobell case, all foreign-born persecutions and Smith and Taft-Hartley cases supported to the fullest; and finally, and at least, the good people of this country should get their heads together before this summer is spent, on ways and means to make the most of the Supreme Court gift of a new fighting chance for civil liberties in America.

—THE GUARDIAN

BRITISH LABOUR BACKS PROPOSAL

U.S.S.R. puts the U.S. on a spot with its plan for ban on Bomb tests

AT THE LONDON disarmament conference on June 14 Soviet delegate Valerian A. Zorin put the U.S., Britain and France squarely on the spot by suggesting an immediate two- or three-year suspension of atomic and hydrogen weapons tests, while a permanent ban is negotiated. He also proposed that control and inspection posts to assure observance of the ban be established in the U.S.S.R., U.S., Britain and Pacific Ocean areas. Inspection, he said, could be carried out by an international commission operating under and reporting to the UN.

London, Paris and Washington seemed dismayed by the Zorin proposals, and began to revive demands for other conditions on which discussion of a temporary ban on nuclear weapons tests would depend. They specifically revived their demand for settlement of political problems—such as the unification of Germany—simultaneous with progress in disarmament.

STRONG BACKING: British Labour Party leader Hugh Gaitskell strongly supported Zorin's proposals and attacked the West's hesitations, arguments and demands. "If everything has to be dependent on everything else," he said, "there is endless scope for obstruction, delay and confusion."

Gaitskell thought it "quite wrong" to hold up disarmament until political settlements were achieved. "Those who talk like this," he said, "are really hinting that we might still go to war to bring about frontier changes, that disarmament would prevent us from going to war and that, therefore, we should reject a disarmament agreement until we have forced the Russians to agree to the changes we want."

Partial disarmament agreements, Gaitskell felt, would in turn facilitate political settlements because the fear of war would be reduced. Calling British Prime Minister Macmillan's attitude "stupid, dangerous and absurd," the Labour Party leader said that there seemed to be "too much reluctance to accept genuine control over arms."

FLUSTERED DULLES: This "reluctance" has been increasingly obvious as the Soviet Union has been making concession after concession and the "get Stassen" movement has been growing stronger in Washington. One of these concessions, at least, so flustered U.S. Secy. of State Dulles that he could not think fast enough to avoid taking recourse to what The **Nation** called (6/1) "a demonstrable untruth."

Herblock in Washington Post

"While you're talking, I'll bring some more chairs."

When a reporter asked Dulles at his May 14 news conference about Soviet acceptance of former British Prime Minister Anthony Eden's formula for a demilitarized zone in West Europe, the Secy. of State said: "There seems to be perhaps some misunderstanding about the so-called Eden formula, which, as submitted at the summit conference, did not involve any demilitarized zone at all."

Checking the official text of Eden's report to Commons (7/27/55) on the Geneva summit conference, The **Nation** found that Sir Anthony had suggested that "we should examine the possibility of a wholly demilitarized area between the East and the West to interpose, as it were, something in the nature of a protective pad between the armies facing each other in Europe."

THE FIRST SMALL STEP: On April 26 Zorin made a number of important concessions to Western demands. He stated that Moscow was ready to negotiate partial disarmament, dropped the proposal for immediate and complete elimination of nuclear weapons, renounced Soviet insistence on immediate U.S. withdrawal from foreign bases and offered Soviet territory for aerial inspection.

In his CBS television interview, Soviet CP Secy. Khrushchev said Moscow was "quite prepared to limit ourselves to some small step" toward disarmament that "might lead to something bigger," and also accept "the means of control." The day before Zorin's proposals, Khrushchev in Helsinki told newsmen that the Soviet

Ludas Matyi, Budapest

Union would agree to mutual ground inspection to enforce the ban if the West agreed to halt tests of nuclear weapons.

These concessions showed that "the Russians now are talking disarmament so seriously," as Roscoe Drummond said (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, 6/10), "that some Americans are beginning to shiver in their boots for fear it will come about." For several years, he said, American officials were able "to talk boldly and longingly about a disarmament agreement with the Soviet Union without having to face up to consequences." Today, however, "it is certainly no longer safe to talk disarmament unless we mean it."

BRAGGING GENERAL: Reaction to the Soviet concessions has raised grave doubts about whether "we mean it." Stassen evidently believed that Moscow would accept any arms agreement if it gives the Soviet Union a tangible security advantage. Yet NATO chief Gen. Norstad reacted to Soviet concessions by bragging about NATO's capability of "destroying anything of military significance in Russia at the present time."

British Prime Minister Macmillan insisted on further hydrogen bomb tests in

Herblock in Washington Post

"Notice how we've got them isolated."

the interests of Britain's defense. "The French believe," the N.Y. **Times** reported (6/10), "they soon will be able to make their own nuclear weapons," and feared that "formation of an exclusive 'nuclear club' would bar them forever from great-power status." Bonn's Chancellor Adenauer was afraid that any progress in disarmament would deprive West Germany of nuclear weapons and force him to negotiate directly with East Germany for German unification.

Obliged to negotiate in this atmosphere, Stassen, previously demoted but temporarily saved by the President during the recent London conference recess, apparently decided to play his cards close to his chest. According to some observers (N.Y. **Post**, 6/12), Stassen informally discussed with Zorin a U.S. package offer hedged with conditions but including a temporary one-year trial ban on nuclear weapons tests, in order to commit Washington's allies before his enemies could force a reconsideration.

STASSEN CURBED: This created such a furor in Washington, London, Paris and Bonn that Stassen was immediately recalled home, given a thorough dressing down, and sent back to London "with sharply curtailed freedom of action and prestige" and accompanied by career diplomat Julius C. Holmes "to give him diplomatic guidance" (**Times**, 6/14). According to the **Times**, Rep. John W. McCormack (D-Mass.) said that "Secretary Dulles was giving Mr. Stassen enough rope to hang himself." The **Times** added that the U.S. told Adenauer Stassen "exceeded his instructions" and that "high officials said privately this probably would be Mr. Stassen's last mission for President Eisenhower."

How Stassen would react to this remained to be seen. Highly ambitious, he has in the past caved in under severe stress, as he did when he humbly recanted his attack on Vice President Nixon's candidacy during the last campaign However, he must also know that this will perhaps be his last chance to regain national and even international stature.

POPULAR SUPPORT: In public opinion and among some political leaders Stassen has great support. Prof. Linus Pauling, after collecting 2,000 scientists' signatures here to his petition to halt nuclear weapons tests, is now attempting to collect similar signatures abroad. British Labour Party leader Aneurin Bevan and U.S. Sen. Fulbright (D-Ark.) have strongly urged acceptance of Zorin's proposals.

But the Pentagon, mindful of arguments in favor of next year's $42 billion arms budget, still seems determined to reject any solution short of Moscow's total surrender. Washington seems to have adopted as its slogan the statement of Adm. Radford that "you can't trust the Russians." To this Britain's Hugh Gaitskell has replied: "Some may say that the Russians are not to be trusted and don't really mean it, but surely the right course then is to test the Russians, not the bombs."

And on their heads?

"If all the economic experts in the world were laid end to end, they wouldn't reach a conclusion."

—G. B. Shaw

Foreign Born

(Continued from Page 1)

charitable organization (which would surrender all Committee books and records to scrutiny by the State Attorney General) the ACPFB has contended that its defense of individuals threatened with deportation, denaturalization or unwarranted repression under the law, as in the Sentner and Witkovich cases, are undertaken as a means of combatting laws curtailing the liberties of foreign-born Americans. Justice Steuer's June 3 order, which has been stayed pending hearing by the Appellate Court, judged the defense to be charity but not the rest of the Committee's work—such as dispensing education and information on rights of foreign-born, fighting the Walter-McCarran Law and defending itself from attack.

There has been no hint in any of the proceedings aimed at the ACPFB that any of its funds have been misused.

WITH A TOTAL office force of five people among whom the top salary is less than $4,000 a year, the ACPFB office in New York has undertaken to conduct a nationwide fight as old as the nation itself for the rights of foreign-born. In conjunction with affiliated committees throughout the country it is currently participating in some 400 deportation, denaturalization and other foreign-born cases, the most extensive defense operation in the nation.

Festival is still on

THE ANNUAL FESTIVAL and Picnic of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, set for Sunday, June 23, at Camp Midvale, Wanaque, N.J., was not barred by the temporary injunction staying the ACPFB's operations in New York.

In addition, the Committee is leading the fight for repeal or amendment of the Walter-McCarran immigration law and especially for a five-year statute of limitations on all denaturalization and deportation proceedings. Last year the House Un-American Activities Committee, headed by Rep. Francis E. Walter (D.-Pa.), co-author of the Walter-McCarran law, conducted a nationwide series of hearings at which Committee workers in many cities were called up for questioning. In Los Angeles lawyers representing some of those summoned were thrown out of the hearings, occasioning a strong resolution to Congress by the California Bar Assn.

Earlier last year Federal Judge Westover dismissed denaturalization proceedings against Rose Chernin Kusnitz, secretary of the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, brought by the government in a declared attempt to use the Walter-McCarran Law to nullify the Schneiderman decision of the Supreme Court in 1943. One of the ACPFB's early court victories, the Schneiderman decision by the late Justice Frank Murphy, affirmed that membership in the Communist Party was not grounds for loss of citizenship.

THE ACPFB COMES under its severest attack as it enters its 25th year of operation. Founded in 1933 when attacks on foreign-born were reaching alarming proportions in depression-ravaged communities, the ACPFB has been commended by President Roosevelt, Wendell Willkie and many of the nation's top leaders since. Its honorary co-chairmen at present include Rev. Kenneth Ripley Forbes of Philadelphia, Rt. Rev. Arthur W. Moulton of Salt Lake City, and Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith of Winchester, Conn.

Telegrams and letters have been requested to Governor Harriman and Attorney General Lefkowitz in Albany, N.Y., protesting the injunction against the ACPFB and urging termination of proceedings against it by the state. Contributions may be sent to the Rev. Forbes, 135 W. Upsal St., Philadelphia 19, Pa.

THEY DON'T WANT TO BE A U.S. COLONY

The meaning of the Canadian elections

By Elmer Bendiner

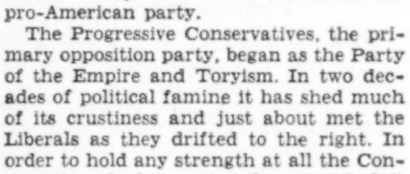
CANADIAN VOTERS early this month confounded all political prophets and made the most precision-minded poll-taking seem like very bad guesswork. More than that, they handed Washington a warning of restless stirrings on a frontier in which the roving U.S. investor was thought to be safe from hostile natives. They did this by decisively throwing the entrenched Liberal Party out of power.

For 22 years the Liberals held power in Canada. Never as left-wing as the New Deal, they contented themselves with a few mild welfare measures and allowed their liberalism to rust in office. They held 170 out of 265 seats in Parliament and perfected a formidable streamroller. Their firmest stronghold was among the French-Canadians who regarded them as the guardians of French culture and the Roman Catholic religion. Quebec regularly returned large majorities for the far-right provincial movement of Premier Maurice Duplessis and, on a national ballot, for the Liberals.

THE OPPOSITION: The French-Canadian support stemmed from a mistrust of the British Empire and a never-dying resentment against the attempt to draft French-Canadians to fight overseas in World War I. Since World War II the Liberal Party has become known as the pro-American party.

The Progressive Conservatives, the primary opposition party, began as the Party of the Empire and Toryism. In two decades of political famine it has shed much of its crustiness and just about met the Liberals as they drifted to the right. In order to hold any strength at all the Conservatives had to swing far enough left to attach the word Progressive to their name. The Empire orientation gave way to an emphasis on the Commonwealth and consequent opposition to U.S. domination. The Conservatives held 53 seats in the last Parliament.

Sharing the opposition was the Canadian Commonwealth Federation which in 1933 issued a fierce-sounding manifesto on "eradicating capitalism" but has since been toned down to a slow and dignified



LESTER PEARSON
They nearly cooked his turkey

approach to an ultimate socialism, rather like the British Labour Party. It holds complete power in Saskatchewan, making that prairie province the only state with a socialist objective in the Western Hemisphere. The CCF held 22 seats in the old Parliament, all but one from Saskatchewan.

WRONG GUESSING: The Social Credit Party, a movement which developed during the depression, offering a cordial mistrust of Eastern bankers and a money-policy panacea, holds power in Alberta and British Columbia. Unable to apply its financial policies in the two provinces alone, it has contented itself with some mild social reforms and a general political line to the right of the Liberals. The Socreds held 15 seats.

Unanimously the experts predicted that the Liberals would win again although most credited the opposition with some gains. Canada was "prosperous," even booming; no change was forecast. The N.Y. **Times** survey of its Canadian correspondents was confident. The Gallup poll, released on June 4, six days before election, predicted these percentages: Liberals, 47%; Progressive Conservatives, 33%; CCF and the Social Credit Party, 20%.

The returns were: Progressive Conservatives, 109 seats; Liberals, 104; CCF, 24; Social Credit, 19. Of the 20 Liberal ministers of the cabinet, nine were defeated, one of them by a Conservative candidate in Vancouver. Douglas Jung, who became the first Chinese-Canadian MP. The popular vote gave the Liberals a slight edge, 41% to the Conservatives' 39%. On the minor parties the Gallup Poll was accurate: 20%.

THE REASONS: The upset was sweeping. Last week it was still uncertain whether the Conservatives could govern since neither they nor the Liberals hold a majority without the two minor parties which now wield a strategic balance of power. The Conservatives may call new elections soon in hopes of securing a clear majority. There was talk that the Liberals might frustrate that call by clinging to office for a few more months with support of the minor parties. The significance, however, lies not in Parliamentary arithmetic, but in the reasons for the sensational upset.

One reason can be found in a slender blue book issued last year by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics which quickly became a Canadian best-seller. It was everywhere called political dynamite, though the explosive powers were not fully realized until the Liberals found themselves in the debris. Entitled "Canada's Int'l. Investment Position, 1926-1954," the report revealed that U.S. capital has been pouring into Canada at the rate of $3,000,000 a day since 1945; that it is now four times greater than that of any other country. Statistics showed the price Canadians were paying for the flood of dollars. The U.S. controls more than half of all Canadian manufacturing and one out of every five factory workers is employed by a U.S. company.

U.S. capital controls 68% of the booming Canadian oil industry, including 100% of oil transport; 53% of mining and smelting; 42% pulp and paper; 54% chemical; 62% electrical apparatus; 76% auto.

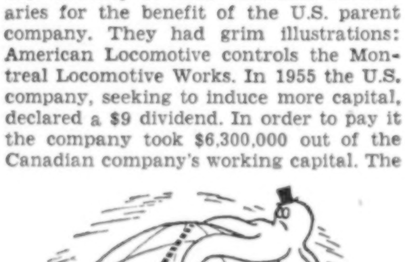
THE INVASION: Everywhere U.S. giants have crossed the border to control Canada's economy: General Motors of Canada, Int'l. Harvester of Canada, Swift Canadian, Canadian Johns Manville, Firestone of Canada. The invasion was something new to Canada. The British had invested capital in Canada but mainly in bonds which left control of industry largely in Canadian hands. British financial investments were pulled out to finance the two world wars so that now British investments are below their 1926 level, while U.S. investments have tripled.

The pattern of economic domination drawn by U.S. investors made Canada look like a large and lush banana republic. Earl Rowe, Progressive-Conservative MP, said: "Never before in our history did we export so much of our irreplaceable raw materials." (Some 24,000 Canadian trees go into each Sunday's issue of the N.Y. **Times.**) Rowe continued: "And at no time in the past 100 years did any people in the world buy on a per capita basis so much manufactured goods made outside their country. At no time in history have we exported more jobs of Canadians and imported more products of U.S. jobs."

NEW COLONY: Ralph Blackmore, financial editor of the Toronto **Globe and Mail,** wrote shortly after the blue book was published: "Canada's colonial status is something that was supposed to have disappeared at least a couple of generations ago, yet many companies operate branches in the same way they would operate a branch in the Belgian Congo or Samoa."

All through 1956 popular alarm at the U.S. invasion grew. The Canadian Labor Congress—the merged organization of federations which followed the U.S. labor merger—filed a report with a Royal Commission on economic prospects last year, warning of the dangers of foreign control of Canadian industry. It cited the juggling of exports by U.S. parent companies which can decide whether a Canadian or a U.S. shop fills foreign orders. The CLC said it feared that with the advance of automation U.S. companies might use Canadian plants as "guinea pigs" to try out new processes, or that if automation boosted the output of U.S. factories, the companies might shut down their Canadian plants altogether.

Canadian businessmen, too, objected to the tendency to milk Canadian subsidiaries for the benefit of the U.S. parent company. They had grim illustrations: American Locomotive controls the Montreal Locomotive Works. In 1955 the U.S. company, seeking to induce more capital, declared a $9 dividend. In order to pay it the company took $6,300,000 out of the Canadian company's working capital. The



only two Canadians on the Montreal company's board of directors resigned in protest but the deal went through.

THE PIPE LINE: In July, 1956, the Liberals steamrollered a bill through Parliament granting a subsidy, variously computed at from $80,000,000 to $200,000,000, to Trans-Canada Pipe Line Ltd. to lay a gas line from Alberta to Ontario and Quebec. When it was revealed that the company was 83.4% owned and controlled by U.S. capital, a storm broke in Parliament with the opposition demanding that the Liberals resign.

It was plain last spring that the U.S. would be a key factor in the voting. Raymond Daniell wrote in the N.Y. **Times,** April 15, 1956: ". . . a major issue has already emerged. U.S. capital has been cast as a villain."

George Drew, Progressive Conservative leader, raised the war cry: "Canadians should declare their economic independence of the U.S. . . . We are not going to be hewers of wood, drawers of water and diggers of holes for any other country, no matter how friendly."

WHEAT AND SUICIDE: There were other factors, such as the wheat that lay piled up in western storage bins without a buyer. The Liberals blamed it on conditions of the world market and put into effect its modified program of price supports. But the Progressive Conservatives and the CCF said it was because the U.S. had dumped its surplus wheat on the world market and frozen Canada out. They blamed the Liberals for failing to protest U.S. export policies.

JOHN DIEFENBAKER
The winner and his wife

The suicide in Cairo of Canadian diplomat Herbert Norman as the result of hounding by U.S. Congressional committees did nothing to quiet the northern frontier. The Liberal government protested strongly, then lamely lent some credibility to the U.S. charges. Foreign Minister Lester B. Pearson almost lost the election in his own district partly because of the Norman case and partly because the turkey farmers in the area resented the invasion of U.S. turkeys into the Canadian market.

Although Canada was apparently prosperous, Canadians remembered 1954-55 when the U.S. slump spread across the border and suddenly put 500,000 men out of work. It was then, as Mark Gayn recalled in the **Nation,** that prairie newspapers headlined the question: "Is Canada a U.S. satellite?"

THE WINNER: John Diefenbaker, 61, a spell-binding courtroom lawyer, fought his way up against the moss-backs of the Progressive Conservative party to the post of leader. He campaigned tirelessly, pulled out all the stops, struck at each of the Liberals' weaknesses but promised to leave intact their welfare program. He assailed the steamroller tactics of the Liberals, promised to curb U.S. imports. Much of his internal program was borrowed from the CCF. He assailed that party and the Social Credit Party mainly because they were regional groups, ineffective on a national scale and, he said, spoiled the smooth workings of the Parliamentary system. Last week he stood ready to inherit the Premiership from the 75-year-old Louis St. Laurent.

The mandate of the Canadian voters was clearer than John Diefenbaker's program. There were indications that Canada may have imported one more U.S. product: the bipartisan machinery to frustrate popular mandates. The Washington **Post** said editorially last week: "Mr. Diefenbaker may not be looked to for any sweeping reversal of Liberal policies."

A *Bed-Time Story*

ONCE UPON A TIME there was a nation so powerful that it became a bully among the nations. It fought many wars and killed thousands of people and thousands of its own best youth were killed while the weak and stupid stayed at home and perpetuated the population. For a long time the rulers told the people that if they did not pay huge taxes to kill people other people would kill them. All but a few people believed this. Taxes became insupportable and this nation that taxed the people to be a first-class military nation became a third-class nation because it taxed the people to be a first-class nation. Wasn't that silly?

So some wise rulers said, Let's not be a first-class military nation anymore for we cannot raise taxes and we have already borrowed and begged more money than we shall pay back. So this nation stopped spending money to kill folks and all the world read about it in the **Tribune** after hearing it five times over the radio, and all the people of the world rejoiced and were no longer afraid of this nation but felt kindly toward it, so it was safe for the first time in its history, and it became a first-class nation in all the great and noble things of peace.

—**Ram's Horn,** First Unitarian Society of Salt Lake City

WHERE KINGS AND OIL COMPANIES NOW RULE

Let the UN take a hand in the Middle East

By Kumar Goshal

AFTER RESCUING Jordan's King Hussein from the threatened oblivion he deserved, Washington last week seemed bent on further mischief in the Middle East to make it safe for U.S. oil companies.

It rejected new Soviet proposals for relaxing tensions in the Middle East; pushed the Eisenhower Doctrine hard; glanced balefully at Syria's neutralist regime as its possible next victim.

On June 12 the U S. curtly rejected Moscow's April 19 proposal for a Big Four declaration renouncing the use of force in the Middle East. Britain and France immediately followed suit. Washington, London and Paris, the N.Y. **Times** said (6/13), "saw no reason why they should concede" that Moscow "was entitled to a voice in Middle East matters."

The Eisenhower Doctrine chalked up another victory as Israel's parliament on June 3 supported Premier Ben-Gurion's endorsement of the Doctrine by a vote of 59 to five (Communists), with 39 abstentions. Two parties in Ben-Gurion's coalition, Mapam and Ahdut Avodah, strongly opposed the doctrine but were persuaded to abstain to prevent a cabinet crisis which might topple the government and bring the extreme reactionaries into power.

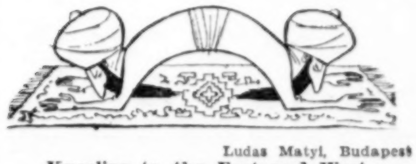
A glance at the stakes the various countries and peoples have in the Middle East would indicate that steps taken by the U. S. and its allied could aggravate rather than relax tension in that region. But it could also point the way to bringing peace to the Middle East.

THE U.S. STAKE: The U.S. placed the mantle of the Eisenhower Doctrine around the entire Middle East and adjacent regions primarily to protect the more than $2 billion American investment in Middle Eastern oil. **Forbes** magazine (Nov. 15, 1956) disclosed the gigantic stake the U.S. oil companies have in the Middle East: "At least 60% of the Middle East crude is produced by American interests." According to one Wall Street estimate, last year they made a profit of $579,300,000.

Geologist Wallace Pratt estimates that "the Middle East holds three-quarters of the entire world's known oil reserves." Oil pipelines from both Saudi Arabia and Iraq pass through Syria and Lebanon, the one from Saudi Arabia passing through Jordan as well.

PROSPECTING FOR MORE: Sahara Petroleum Co. (Continental Oil, Richfield Oil, Cities Service and Ohio Oil) has been prospecting for oil in Egypt; Texas Gulf Producing Co. and W.R. Grace & Co. are in Libya; Sinclair has gone into Italian Somaliland; a group headed by former RFC head George E. Allen has entered Yemen; California oilman Edwin Pauley is probing the sands of Jordan, and Tidewater Oil is dickering for concessions in Turkey.

The gigantic stake gives the oil lobby its tremendous power in Washington.



Ludas Matyi, Budapest

Kneeling to the East and West

And to Washington a Communist is anyone who threatens this U.S. oil investment in the Middle East.

BRITAIN AND FRANCE: Britain and, to a lesser extent, France have also a stake in Middle East oil. While Britain has been consistently losing out to U.S. oil companies, she still depends on the Middle East for 80% of all the oil she burns. France has yet another stake in the Middle East: she illogically believes that a crushing defeat inflicted on the Arab nationalist movement there might somehow discourage the Algerian liberation movement and help preserve what is left of the French empire.

Above: Troubled by right-wing parliament members veering towards the Eisenhower Doctrine, Syria's President Shukri al-Kuwatly (r.) arrives in Cairo for conference with Egypt's President Nasser. Left: Walking a tightrope in the Middle East between the Doctrine and Arab "positive neutralism," Saudi Arabia's King Saud (r.) visits Jordan's King Hussein.

The U.S., Britain and France are all dependent on such feudal monarchs as Saud, Feisal and Hussein for the oil concessions and their protection. The rulers, in turn, are dependent on the Western powers for protection against the wrath of their impoverished and mercilessly exploited peoples. While they are in conflict among themselves over the division of the loot, they make common cause against "Communists" who might threaten to dispossess them. They keep the entire region in constant turmoil so that they can present themselves as arbiters.

THE ARAB PEOPLE: The peoples of the Middle East have a stake, too, and they have begun to assert their rights with varying strength. No longer willing to tolerate their miserable condition, they are demanding control over their resources and governments of their own choosing which will use these resources for their benefit. Egypt's overthrow of King Farouk and nationalization of the Suez Canal Co., and Syria's increasingly strong Hesb al Ba'ath (the Socialist Resurrection Party) have inevitably influenced the Arab peoples profoundly, simultaneously drawing to Egypt and Syria the antagonism of the Western powers.

THE SOVIET STAKE: The Soviet Union's stake in the Middle East is self-preservation, for the Western powers have presented the U.S.S.R. as the personification of the "Communist bogey" with which they hope to scare the Middle Eastern peoples into submission to Western will. Showing that it can play power politics as well as the West, Moscow has tried to break the chain of military and air bases and military alliances by trying to draw within its orbit Middle Eastern countries that were still uncommitted.

ISRAEL'S STAKE: Israel's stake in the Middle East is also self-preservation, maintenace of the state as a homeland—a refuge—for Jews who still suffer from oppression and discrimination in many parts of the world, an opportunity to develop the land for the benefit of its citizens. But the Israeli-Arab conflict has to be seen in the frame of reference of the larger conflicts in the area involving oil investments, diehard imperialists, archaic feudal monarchs, the impoverished but rebellious Arab masses and the security of the Soviet Union.

THE SOLUTIONS: Recent events in the Middle East have jolted many decent minds into a deeper analysis of the problems of the region as a whole, to suggest solutions that would attack the roots rather than the fringes of the problems. While these solutions differ in detail, they seem to agree on the essentials necessary to bring peace to the Middle East. They seem to follow roughly this sequence:

- An immediate embargo on all arms supplies to the Middle East. This will freeze the situation, allowing time to proceed further, since none of the Middle Eastern countries can produce enough arms on their own to precipitate a new conflict.
- Dissolution of military alliances, including the Egypt-Syria-Jordan alliance and those sponsored by the U.S. neutralization of the Middle East and declaration of non-interference in the internal affairs of Middle Eastern countries by any outside power. It would be fallacious to argue that, given freedom to act on their own, the Arab peoples would immediately attack Israel. On the contrary, Jordan has demonstrated that the Arabs are anxious to get rid of their feudal rulers. The repressive measures taken by the Iraqi government and the report of "an underground movement of 'Free Saudians'" (Drew Pearson, 2/10), lend support to this view Besides, all military authorities, including those in Israel, agree that without arms aid from abroad even the combined forces of the Arab countries would be no match for Israel's military strength.
- A program to solve the economic problems of the Middle East that are at the root of all the conflicts there, and a program for resettling the Arab refugees from Palestine. It has been suggested that the UN might take over the running of the oil wells temporarily, guarantee the present owners just compensation to be paid over a long period of time; handing the oil wells to local authorities later; meanwhile allocating fixed proportions of income from oil for planned regional economic development under the guidance of international experts employed by the UN.

A UN commission, including representatives of the Arab refugees themselves, as well as neutral experts on colonization, irrigation, finances and security problems, should undertake the rehabilitation and resettlement of the Arab refugees and decide how this should be financed. Without outside powers keeping the flame of conflict alive to protect their own interests, and with the opening up by the UN of the prospect of constructive projects for economic betterment, such resettlement might not be too difficult to undertake.

- Further economic assistance to the region through SUNFED (Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development) so that no Middle Eastern country would feel politically indebted to any outside power. Should Israel be able to secure economic aid through SUNFED, it would also free her from similar obligations abroad. Involved in constructive projects for their own economic betterment, the Arabs would be immune to any demagogic attempt to divert their attention against Israel. In fact, their own economic interests would disclose to them the great contribution Israel's advanced technology can make to their own economic betterment.

In turn this will open up the possibility for Israel's economic integration with the entire Middle East, without which Israel cannot have a viable economy. Such Israel-Arab economic cooperation will also for the first time create the atmosphere for eventual friendly relations between the Israelis and the Arabs.

- Finally, an Israeli-Arab peace conference should agree on mutual non-aggression pacts and definite boundary demarcations guaranteed by the UN.

NO ARABS HAVE SPOKEN: In one form or another, the above program has been suggested by the Mapam in Israel, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and the Zionist Nahum Goldman in the U S., several times by Moscow and by many other individuals of good will. There have been no similar clearcut suggestions from the Arab side, and the time is ripe for progressive Arabs to speak up. The Arabs must understand that anti-Israeli propaganda is at best futile and at worst a deterrent to a successful fight against imperialism.

Israel, too, needs to realize that, as Richard Yaffe has said in an illuminating article (**Israel Horizons**, May, 1957), "it is a Middle Eastern state, and must find her way in her own area, and not as a tail to an outsider's kite, East or West. To live in peace among its anti-Western, anti-colonial neighbors Israel can have no politico-military ties with anyone."

A QUESTION OF PEACE: The Eisenhower Doctrine is destined to play havoc in the Middle East unless collective efforts are made to solve the Middle Eastern problems in terms of the basic requirement of elimination of poverty and foreign exploitation of the region's peoples and resources.

"All these developments may seem utopian in this moment," Prof. Ernst Simon wrote (**Liberation**, September, 1956), "but without a new and fresh approach to the question peace cannot be maintained."

VOL 9 35

THE WHITE HOUSE IS EMPTY

Washington's broken chain of command

By Martin Hall

WHEN Gen. Eisenhower entered the White House in 1952 there was much talk about establishing a clear chain of command from the President's office down to the last government agency. Everything was to be streamlined along military lines, with clearly defined responsibilities at the various levels of authority. The last thing expected was rivalry between the branches of the Executive. Even in the relationship between the White House and Congress Ike's admirers counted on his overwhelming personal popularity for complete harmony.

With barely half a year of Eisenhower's second and last term gone, the country is uncertain as to who is making decisions of life and death for the country, who is formulating foreign policy, or who is speaking for the Government on domestic issues. The chain of command is broken constantly. What the President says one day is contradicted within hours by members of his cabinet, even by the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Adm. Radford. The President's budget is hardly submitted to Congress when it is repudiated by the Secretary of the Treasury. Most astonishing of all, nothing ever happens to the rebels in Ike's family. The White House, for all practical purposes, more often than not seems to be empty.

THE PALACE GUARD: Much more is involved than the unusually long periods during which the President is physically absent from Washington, whether for reasons of health, golf or country squiring. Even when the President ostensibly "keeps the store" at Pennsylvania Avenue, his physical presence does not change the picture much. He has become more and more inaccessible. The palace guard does its best to keep away people with legitimate business. Often the transcripts of Mr. Eisenhower's press conferences show that he is obviously not informed on important developments, domestic and foreign, which any careful newspaper reader knows about as a matter of course.

The domestic picture shows clearly the loss of political leadership by the President. But it is in international relations that Washington has experienced the most dramatic decline. It has lost what used to be an almost automatic control of the majority in the UN General Assembly. It is faced with the deterioration of its world-wide system of military alliances. It is isolating itself from its allies. Its inflexibility on China has antagonized not only Asia but Europe as well. Secy. Dulles' obsession with his world crusade against communism, in which he has subordinated practically every political decision in U.S. foreign policy to military considerations, has led to a stalemate in the cold war in the face of increasing world pressure to bring an end to world tensions. In this stalemate world opinion cannot help see the U.S. as the main obstacle to a peaceful solution. The powerful groups that have a vested interest in continuing the arms race have a firm hold on the State Dept. as well as on the Defense Dept. Dulles and Radford are their spokesmen and their power is used ruthlessly to torpedo even the rare independent moves by the President to ease East-West tensions when they seem to promise success.

THE THIRD DAY: It took a long time to break down Washington's objections to a summit meeting with the Soviet Union. When it could no longer be avoided the Dulles forces shifted their tactics. There occurred on the third day of the Geneva Conference a truly dramatic moment. Premier Bulganin had just proposed for the first time a plan envisaging troop withdrawals from Europe and the creation of a neutral buffer zone. Eisenhower was visibly impressed. Spontaneously he said that this Soviet move was the most encouraging thus far and would certainly merit serious consideration on our part.

O, CAPTAIN, MY CAPTAIN, WHO STEERS THE SHIP OF STATE?
While Ike walks the bridge, Dulles and Radford chart the course—and not toward calm waters.

Dulles immediately extracted a promise from both his British and his French counterparts that this exchange between Mr. Eisenhower and Premier Bulganin would not be given out to the press. According to Drew Pearson, who alone among the American correspondents told the story, the promise was broken. News of the exchange went like wildfire through the press room. A few hours later, said Pearson, Dulles called a press conference to announce that the statement ascribed to President Eisenhower "did not represent the position of the U.S. Government."

We may never know if this experience had anything to do with Mr. Eisenhower's subsequent heart attack. We do know that Dulles made the best possible use of the period of the President's illness. By the time the Big Four foreign ministers met to implement the Geneva decisions, the atmosphere had changed sufficiently to make any real progress impossible.

It took a long time for the opportunity to arise for a new understanding with the Soviet Union on disarmament. Harold Stassen's patient labor had helped to bring the divergent proposals closer together. Stassen had been made the President's personal adviser on disarmament and even given cabinet rank. He reported directly to the President.

Almost on the eve of Stassen's departure for London the White House announced Stassen was being put under control of the State Dept., thus giving Dulles the power not only to give orders to Stassen, but also to isolate him from the President. The news did not produce much comment in the American press, but its significance was not lost in Europe.

HOPE IN LONDON: Still, the start of the London negotiations seemed to hold some real promise for a first step towards an agreement on disarmament. Hopes rose so high that a decision was made to extend the negotiations. Stassen returned to Washington and even saw the President. Obviously impressed by Stassen's report Eisenhower, at a press conference, said that for reasons of their own the Russian leaders felt it in their interest to press for an agreement and that he, the President, hoped that some initial agreement could be reached at this time.

Then it happened again. This time it was Radford who publicly disavowed his Commander-in-Chief. The Russians, said the admiral, had broken every agreement they had ever made and he did not think we could ever trust them in any agreement on disarmament.

A week later, when the clamor to end all atomic tests and ban the use of atomic weapons reached avalanche proportions, the President repeated the old Dulles formula that we would never agree to stop the tests until and unless an iron-clad agreement on control had been reached with everybody concerned.

If ever the country needed courageous leadership, exercised with authority, that time is now. But the White House is empty and the chain of command is broken. It shouldn't happen to a general.

(MARTIN HALL is a free-lance writer and lecturer on national and international affairs, a former European correspondent and veteran of the anti-Nazi underground in Hitler Germany. He lives in Los Angeles.)

MR. LINCOLN'S GHOST WEPT

Lines not meant to be memorized

An anonymous author has written a piece which has been causing a humor-starved Washington to chortle with delight. According to Doris Fleeson, columnist of the N.Y. Post, it is being widely circulated in the White House press room and is in the "public domain." It is entitled, "The Gettysburg Address As It Would Have Been Written By President Eisenhower." It is printed below.

I haven't checked these figures, but 87 years ago, I think it was, a number of individuals organized a governmental setup here in this country. I believe it covered certain Eastern areas, with this idea they were following up based on a sort of national independence arrangement and the program that every individual is just as good as every other individual.

Well, now, of course, we are dealing with this big difference of opinion, civil disturbance, you might say, although I don't like to appear to take sides or name any individuals, and the point is naturally to check up, by actual experience in the field, see whether any governmental setup with a basis like the one I was mentioning has any validity, whether that dedication you might say by those early individuals has any lasting values.

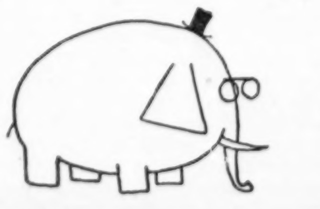
Well, here we are, you might put it that way, all together at the scene where one of these disturbances between different sides got going. We want to pay our tribute to those loved ones, those departed individuals who made the supreme sacrifice here on the basis of their opinions about how this setup ought to be handled. It is absolutely in order and 100 per cent OK to do this.

But if you look at the overall picture of this, we can't pay any tribute—we can't sanctify this area—we can't hallow, according to whatever individual creeds or faiths or sort of religious outlooks are involved, like I said about this particular area. It was those individuals themselves, including the enlisted men, very brave individuals, who have given this religious character to the area.

The way I see it, the rest of the world will not remember any statements issued here, but it will never forget how these men put their shoulders to the wheel and carried this idea down the fairway.

Our job, the living individuals' job here is to pick up the burden and sink the putt they made these big efforts here for. It is our job to get on with the assignment and from these deceased fine individuals to take extra inspiration, you could call it, for the same theories about which they did such a lot.

We have to make up our minds right here and now, as I see it, they didn't put out all that blood, perspiration and —well—that they didn't just make a dry run here, that all of us, under God, that is, the God of our choice, shall beef up this idea about freedom and liberty and those kind of arrangements and that government of all individuals, by all individuals and for the individuals shall not pass out of the world picture.



BRAZIL NEEDS INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Rio de Janeiro: A study in Cadillacs and poverty

By Ursula Wassermann
Special to the GUARDIAN
RIO DE JANEIRO, BRAZIL

AFTER A TEN-YEAR absence from Rio, the first impression is once again one of sheer delight, and if sun and humidity do wither some of her buildings, custom never stales her infinite variety. Rio remains picturesque not only because of the breath-taking beauty of her mountains reflected in the sea, but also because of the multi-colored humanity that fills her streets and beaches and market squares.

Rio always appears to be on holiday. Blacks and whites and chocolate-colored mulattoes mingle everywhere without restriction, and racial differences appear to have come to an end among the skyscrapers and the huts of this beautiful city. But racial discrimination does, of course, exist—if not in law then in custom, if not politically then socially and economically. Brazil's high society does not admit Negroes to its ranks; its navy is lily-white and its air force, under American influence, is becoming more so every day. Only the army, independent and highly nationalistic, has preserved the democratic traditions of multi-racial unity.

COLOR AND POVERTY: In government posts and in the professions there is no legal bar to Negro advancement, but the economic position of the vast majority of the black population acts as a determining factor against the attainment of high position.

Primary education, of four years duration, has long been free and obligatory, but the law has never been enforced, largely because of the shortage of schools and teachers; illiteracy is over 60%. Most of the children who do not attend school are Negro children.

The situation in secondary education is even worse: only a handful of state-supported secondary schools exist, with admission gained only by competitive examinations. While most white parents can afford to send their children to private secondary schools, at high fees, Negroes must scramble for a few places in the free public schools. Only a precious few make their way to the university. Thus, if color as such constitutes no bar toward advancement, color plus poverty does.

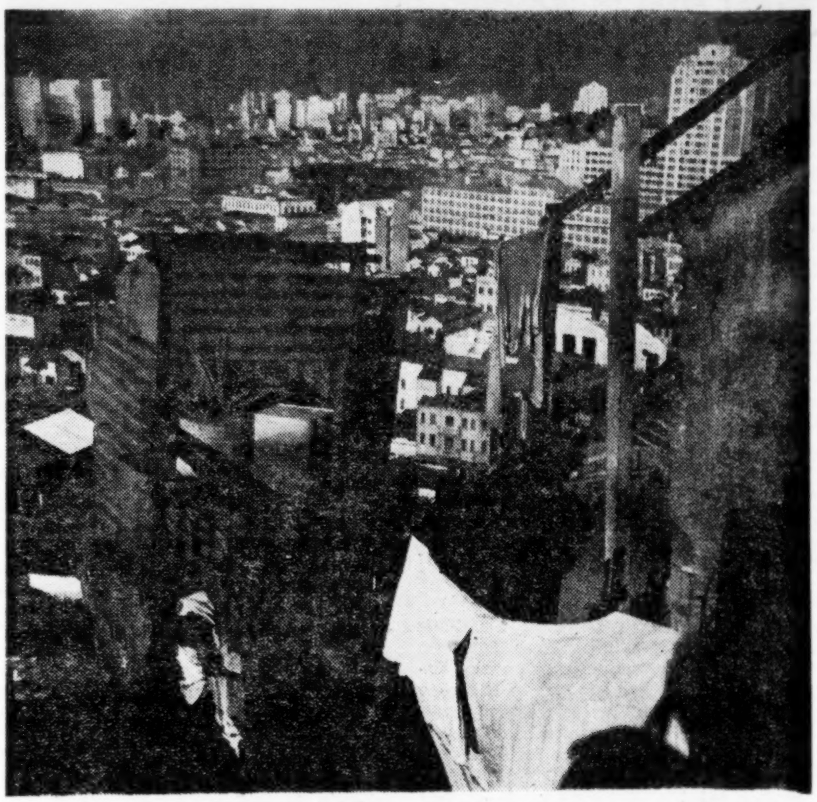
LUXURY AND SLUMS: Architecturally, Rio is one of the most striking cities on earth, and its modern apartment houses offer comfort of living rarely found elsewhere. Much of the originality of its style is due to Oscar Niemeyer, Brazil's world-famous architect, who has combined line and color to make Rio the showplace of a continent. The middle class here lives in luxury reserved for the very rich elsewhere.

Yet, only a stone's throw from this fabulous wealth, all along the mountain slopes which encircle the city, are the *favellas,* the slums which make you blush with shame. Here thousands upon thousands of people live an existence unworthy of human beings, in huts constructed of rotting wood or rusting corrugated iron, without light or water or sewage, with garbage collecting along the road in evil-smelling heaps, spreading disease.

Your Brazilian middle-class host will shrug and say: "Well, that's Rio—it's always been like that." For decades, nothing was done to clear these dreaded slums, and neither the federal government nor the municipality has allocated a penny toward rehousing the people. Now the Church has taken the initiative, and the diocese of Rio de Janeiro has just finished the construction of the first dozen large blocks of flats with low rents.

CADILLAC COLONY: If Rio is a tropical metropolis, gay and colorful, it is also a very American town, busy, bustling, noisy and unbelievably full of traffic. It has been said that next to Saudi Arabia, Brazil is the largest Cadillac Colony anywhere: the number of shiny new American cars—despite total import restrictions—is staggering.

Rio prides itself on copying everything American, down to the format and size of its newspapers. Sunday papers, in layout, coverage and weight, compare with the Sunday editions of the N.Y. **Times** and **Herald Tribune.** Brazil has made bases available to the U.S. and sells vital strategic raw materials in exchange for American wheat—wheat which could easily be grown in this country. It appears vastly dependent on the U.S.



THE CLEAREST VIEW OF RIO'S BEAUTIFUL ARCHITECTURE . . .
. . . comes from the slums where people live without light, water or sewage

What strikes one is not so much the many American companies which have established Brazilian branches, but the vast amount of finished goods which are imported from the North. Capital goods and industrial equipment would not appear harmful to a country trying to industrialize—although the terms of trade are by no means always favorable to Brazil; but what strengthens the colonial character of the country is the large number of imported consumer goods on sale here: textiles, canned food, chemicals and pharmaceutical products.

THE HUMAN CAPITAL: This is one reason for the constantly rising cost of living, with prices just about as high as in the U.S. and wages and salaries only a fifth to a third the amount of U.S. wages. Food here costs about five times as much as in Argentina, while the minimum wage here is not even twice that in Buenos Aires. Brazilians who can afford the trip go once a year to Buenos Aires for an annual shopping spree. But these are a few hundred or a thousand out of a nation of 45,000,000; the rest await the development of their enormously rich and beautiful country.

Brazilians are a patient people, but they are gradually awakening to the fact that theirs is probably the richest country on earth. Once they are fully aware of this, they will be on the march.

For Brazil needs everything: industrialization, yes, but also the full exploitation of all her natural resources. Above all, Brazil needs that human capital which only a vastly increased immigration can provide.

86th ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF JAMES WELDON JOHNSON

The man who wrote: 'Lift every voice and sing!'

By W. E. B. Du Bois

JUNE SEVENTEENTH was the 86th anniversary of the birth of James Weldon Johnson. It seems to me that he is being forgotten today. Yet he was so important and so vivid a figure that it is imperative that his work and stature be recalled. He and his brother Rosamond will be remembered first as the authors of the Negro National Hymn: "Lift Every Voice and Sing!"

JAMES WELDON JOHNSON

About 1905, the Johnsons became writers of popular songs in New York and James Weldon became a student of Brander Matthews, distinguished teacher of the drama, at Columbia. In 1908 Johnson continued writing but went into the consular and diplomatic service of the government. He undoubtedly felt the need of an environment different from that of New York show business at the turn of the century. He and his brother had met success, but it was in a limited field and the chance for expansion and rise to loftier levels was hindered by the Color Line.

The recognition of his talent was limited: he was never invited to join a social club; he received no honors in the academic world, despite his recognition as a writer. He believed that in the consular service he might find time and inspiration for a literary career.

HE SERVED IN VENEZUELA during the reign and fall of the dictator Castro. He was eventually promoted to the consulate in Nicaragua, where he was destined to spend three years. He served through a revolution and the U.S. intervention. He married and brought his bride to help with the difficult social problems of his position. At last he was promoted and named as consul to the Azores Islands. This was a disappointment as he had hoped to go to some post in France; but he was willing to accept. Then the defeat of William Howard Taft led to the refusal of the Senate to confirm his nomination.

Meantime, although he had had much less time for literary work than he had expected, he published his great poem "Fifty Years" to celebrate the half century of the Emancipation of American Negro slaves. It was printed in the N.Y. **Times** on Jan. 1, 1913, with laudatory editorial comment.

William Jennings Bryan, the new Secretary of State, refused to promote Johnson and intimated that even to let him stay in Nicaragua would be a special favor. Johnson resigned.

HE RETURNED TO NEW YORK and, with the same feeling of frustration which I felt a few years earlier, saw that his future vocation must be defense of the Negro's right to be a man—even if literature and public service had to wait. He turned to the new and struggling NAACP in 1917 and served as Field Secretary for 15 years during the most critical time of growth of the NAACP. He forced the fight against lynching; he helped rescue Haiti; he defended Negroes in Detroit and Arkansas, and he organized an effective office staff. Beyond that he found time for writing. He helped the "Harlem Renaissance"; he published an anthology of Negro poetry and a collection of Negro folk songs; and he wrote his greatest group of poems: "God's Trombones."

In 1912 he published anonymously a novel called **The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man** which was republished under his own name in 1927. In 1933 his autobiography, **Along This Way,** was published.

Above all, Johnson made friends—for himself, for the NAACP, and the Association grew. Then came difficulties. Johnson was not an executive; he was a social statesman. He planned, compromised and decided. Then he delegated to others the execution of his plans. During his triumphant trip to China for the Pacific Relations Institute, he no longer got the cooperation which he needed and decided to change his work.

He did not complain or accuse, but went to Fisk University in Tennessee to teach creative literature. But his heart was in New York. Finally, in 1934, he became a visiting professor at New York University and, in 1938, was offered a full professorship. The next day he died in an automobile accident.

He must not be forgotten. His life and work must live. I have asked consent of his widow, Grace Nail Johnson, to have this fall some sort of meeting to his memory. I should like to hear, from his friends and admirers, suggestions as to the form this memorial should assume.

THEY MEET IN WASHINGTON

King tells Nixon of plans for 3,000,000 Negro voters

By Eugene Gordon

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING Jr. finally caught up with Vice President Nixon officially in Washington on June 13. The 28-year-old president of the Montgomery Improvement Assn. was accompanied by its vice president, Rev. Ralph Abernathy, who is 30.

Dr. King and Rev. Abernathy told Nixon about the campaign for 3,000,000 Southern Negro voters in 1958; many more in 1960. They told Nixon that civil rights laws were needed to protect Negroes who attempted to register in areas that usually bar them. They said after the meeting that they thought President Eisenhower could do "much more than he has done" to advance civil rights.

EXPECTANT COMMUNITY: Dr. King as chairman of a 60-member Southern Leadership Conference last January appealed to the President and to Nixon to visit the South in the interest of interracial goodwill. Neither official answered. Dr. King and Nixon met for the first time last March, when the Vice President represented Mr. Eisenhower at Ghana's independence celebration and Dr. King was Prime Minister Nkrumah's personal guest.

At the June 13 conference, Dr. King said, Nixon told him he would visit the South soon to speak out for civil rights and to urge compliance with anti-discrimination laws.

Some sections of the Negro community had some doubts about the King-Nixon meeting. They wanted the Vice President to be told frankly that neither Republicans nor Democrats could take the Negro's vote for granted in the Congressional elections next year or the Presidential election two years later.

Gray in The Militant

A POLITICAL MEETING: The California **Eagle** observed a week before the Nixon-King conference that the pastor of Montgomery's Dexter Av. Baptist Church and his fellow ministers had emphasized the religious rather than the political character of their integration movement. But, it added, "there can be no evading the fact that a meeting with the Vice President is a political meeting and that whatever decision Mr. Nixon makes will be a political one." The reason is not only that "Mr. Nixon is seeking the Republican nomination for President in 1960, [but he is both] the President's ambassador in matters of the kind he will discuss with Rev. King . . [and an] astute politician."

The **Eagle** said that, "for better or worse," Dr. King had taken a step destined to "land him neck-deep in politics"; it expressed doubt whether Dr. King had "taken a wise course to play a lone hand in this matter."

CONGRATS AND COVENANT: As far back as March 19, 1954, press clippings indicated Negro misgivings about Nixon. **The Labor World** of that date, commenting on the Vice President's congratulating the Dist. of Columbia Phone Co. for ending jimcrow employment, called his act "a very low form of politics." It said:

"Mr. Nixon is the same gentleman who has just recently purchased a house in Washington, D.C., signing a real estate covenant which requires him to sell only to people of Anglo-Saxon origin."

But Nixon a year later had mastered an important technique of the politician's craft. The N.Y. **Herald Tribune** (6/26/55) reported him on a walking tour of Harlem, "shaking hands with astonished passersby and discussing the baseball prospects with small boys who rushed up to him."

THE "HONORARY" MEMBER: The Vice President, campaigning in Texas 15 months later, told a press conference that he was "an honorary member" of the NAACP. He added, however, that he favored a "moderate, steady advance" toward integration in all walks of life (N.Y. **Times**, 9/27/56). Nixon's desire to appear bold enough to declare, in the Deep South, that he belonged to the NAACP, while reassuring the Dixiecrats they had nothing to fear from him, might have gone unchallenged but for an unforeseen episode.

NAACP exec. secy. Roy Wilkins appeared in a Federal court in Texas. He presented evidence to disprove the state's allegation that the NAACP was illegal and ought to be barred. He might have cited the Vice President as an NAACP supporter. He did not. The reason came out in this exchange between Wilkins and Texas Asst. Atty. Gen. Grant:

"GRANT—I thought I read in the papers the other day about a man named Nixon who was an honorary member.

"WILKINS (smiling)—Well, if I might answer your question without using any names, I would say that the NAACP does not have a classification of honorary member . . ."

ON SAFARI WITH DICK: Nixon's most conspicuous buildup with the Negro voters for the 1960 Presidential election was his African safari by way of Ghana. The **Times'** Thomas F. Brady said the Vice President was "by no means unaware of the political effect of the trip in the U.S., [for] 30 correspondents are accompanying him, nearly half of them representing the American Negro press." One Negro reporter was the GOP-supporting Pittsburgh **Courier's** Alex M. Rivera Jr.

Rivera in a series of **Courier** articles (May 25, June 1 & 8) titled "NIXON! What Kind of a Man Is He?" declared: "You can't spend 22 days around Dick Nixon without becoming an enthusiastic admirer."

The California **Eagle** commented: "Neither the meeting nor a Vice Presidential tour will cause the walls of Southern discrimination to come tumbling down. The Dixiecrats won't roll over and play dead just because the Vice President reproves them—if he does. The long, hard pull lies ahead and the job can be done, and will be done, only through organizational effort."

Spingarn Medal to King

MARTIN LUTHER KING Jr., 28-year old president of the Montgomery Improvement Assn. and leader of that Alabama city's successful anti-jimcrow bus movement of 1955-56, has been chosen for the 42nd Spingarn Medal, awarded annually to a Negro citizen of the U.S. for distinguished achievement. The citation reads:

"Dr. King has become a foremost exponent of the Gandhian philosophy of non-violent passive resistance. He has not only preached the doctrine of 'Love your enemies'; he has also demonstrated the efficacy of this Christian faith."

The award will be made at the NAACP's 48th annual convention in Detroit, June 25-30.

DOESN'T HE KNOW THEY DON'T VOTE IN U.S. ELECTIONS?
Vice President Nixon shakes a few dozen hands in Morocco

AFTER THE BAN ON 'FACELESS INFORMERS'

Jencks retrial unlikely; might embarrass the FBI

IT SEEMED UNLIKELY last week that the Government would ever re-try former union official Clinton Jencks under a recent Supreme Court decision reversing his conviction on two counts of falsely filing a Taft-Hartley non-communist affidavit.

In a new trial the government would be required, under the Supreme Court ruling, to make available to the defense FBI documents and reports relating to the testimony of government witnesses.

One of the witnesses in the Jencks trial was Harvey M. Matusow, who recanted his testimony after Jencks' conviction. At a hearing for a new trial on the basis of his switch, Matusow took the stand as a defense witness. He told trial Judge R. E. Thomason in El Paso, Tex., that his original reports to the FBI would show that he had never identified Jencks as a member of the Communist Party, contrary to his testimony at the trial.

IT COULD BE DAMNING: Under cross-examination by the government, Matusow added that after he had testified before the grand jury that indicted Jencks, he told an FBI man in Santa Fe that he didn't want to take the stand against Jencks because "I didn't feel my testimony was honest." Matusow said the FBI agent put his statement in writing and that Matusow verified it.

If these declarations of Matusow are true, then production of the FBI reports in court would be damning to the government. They would show that the Justice Dept. went to trial with evidence it had reason to believe was false, and they would show that Matusow was telling the truth when he recanted his original testimony.

In the Jencks case, Matusow was eventually held in contempt, branded as a perjurer and sentenced to three years for obstructing justice. This sentence was later reversed on the ground that Matusow was entitled to a jury trial on a charge of perjury. The government dropped that case, but brought new proceedings against Matusow arising from his testimony at a Smith Act trial in New York. He was convicted last September and sentenced to five years.

THE MINE-MILL CASE: Matusow remained free in $10,000 bail until the U.S. Court of Appeals recently upheld his conviction. Supreme Court Justice John M. Harlan refused to continue bail pending an appeal to the high court. Matusow's attorney applied to the full bench for bail, but on June 10 Federal Judge Edmund L. Palmieri in New York honored a government surrender order on the ground that he lacked power to grant bail and remanded Matusow, who is now serving his sentence. But a close look at FBI documents in the Jencks case might blow the biggest hole yet in the government's informer system.

The Jencks ruling, however, was having continuing repercussions in other cases last week. On June 11 Nathan Witt, attorney for the independent Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers (of which Jencks is a former officer) demanded access to FBI material in the government's case against the union before the Subversive Activities Control Board. Witt was granted until June 18 to file a written motion, after which argument will be heard on the question of whether the Jencks decision applies to government agencies such as the SACB as well as to courts of law.

A similar motion was made earlier in the government's case against the Communist Party before the SACB.

THE MATLES CASE: The recent denaturalization of James J. Matles, director of organization of the independent United Electrical Workers, may also hinge upon the inspection of FBI documents and reports upon which the testimony of government witnesses was based.

A separate contempt conviction against Matles, arising from his refusal to give pre-trial depositions under oath to a U.S. Attorney, has been upheld by a Circuit Court of Appeals and will be appealed to the Supreme Court. Matles based his refusal on these grounds:

"The Dept. of Justice lawyers have had four years since they started proceedings to investigate me and prepare their case. They have had four years to rehearse their stable of hired witnesses for my case. But they have been having bad luck lately with their stable of professionals. Professional testimony is not standing up in the courts or going down with the public as it did in McCarthy's prime.

"That is why the Dept. of Justice lawyers want to drag me in for a fishing expedition over the past 27 years and try to force me to help them frame me up. If they have a case against me, let them present it in court. I am convinced that they are legally and constitutionally wrong in their efforts to force me to help them take away my citizenship. I am going to fight their efforts to do it."

During Matles' six-week trial, the government called eight professional witnesses against him. The Dept. of Justice has now presented Matles with a bill for $2,462.46 to pay for their "expenses."

LARGE CROWD AT COMMUNITY CHURCH

First meeting of the American Forum

ON THE EVENING of June 12, at the start of New York's current hot spell, an audience of 750 came to the Community Church in Manhattan for the first public meeting of the newly established American Forum for Socialist Education. First announced May 13 by A. J. Muste, longtime pacifist and leader of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, for the purpose of non-exclusive discussion among individuals and groups of socialist leanings, the Forum was immediately attacked by Sen. Eastland and Senate Internal Security subcommittee summonses were issued for several of its announced participants. In a sharp exchange of letters with Eastland, Muste, as chairman of the new group, declined to answer questions put to him by mail.

Principal speakers at the meeting at Community Church included Dr. Stringfellow Barr, educator and a vice-chairman; Dorothy Day, editor of the **Catholic Worker;** Conrad Lynn, civil rights attorney and an organizer of the recent Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington; and Muste. Called on to answer questions from the floor were Farrell Dobbs, 1956 Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party; Doxey A. Wilkerson and Dr. Albert Blumberg, both Communist Party leaders. These three and other members of the Forum's national committee were present on the platform.

At the meeting the Forum issued its first literature, a pocket-piece folder containing the Forum's aims and statement of purpose, listing its officers and national committee and inviting public contributions from individuals interested in receiving further material sponsored by the Forum.

Copies may be obtained by writing to: American Forum, Room 221, 1133 Broadway, New York 10, N.Y.

Supreme Court

(Continued from Page 1)

neys in two of the cases just decided were members of the Natl. Lawyers Guild.

THE WATKINS CASE: In the Watkins case, decided (6-to-1) with Justice Tom Clark the lone dissenter, the majority opinion by Chief Justice Earl Warren was sharply critical of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and declared that "there is no Congressional power to expose for the sake of exposure" and that "there is no general authority to expose the private affairs of individuals without justification in terms of the functions of the Congress."

The opinion struck at the vague and undefined authority of the committee: "The committee is allowed, in essence, to define its own authority, to choose the direction and focus of its activities. In deciding what to do with the power that has been conferred upon them, members of the committee may act pursuant to motives that seem to them of the highest. Their decisions, nevertheless, can lead to ruthless exposure of private lives in order to gather data that is neither desired by the Congress nor useful to it . . ."

The Watkins ruling is expected to have a decisive bearing on the cases of some 30 other persons either convicted or under indictment for refusing to tell Congressional investigators of their political beliefs or associates. These include Dr. Otto Nathan, executor of the estate of Albert Einstein, playwright Arthur Miller, newsmen William A. Price, Alden Whitman, Robert Shelton and Seymour Peck, actors Elliott Sullivan and George Tyne, and folk-singer Pete Seeger.

THE CALIFORNIA CASE: In the decision in the California Smith Act case, the convictions were reversed on three grounds: (1) a section of the indictment was faulty because the statute of limitations had run out; (2) the trial judge's instructions to the jury were defective because he did not specify that advocacy of violent overthrow of the government is illegal only when it is advocacy of action and not of belief; (3) there was an insufficiency of evidence (five were freed outright on this ground and the others granted a new trial).

Justice John Marshall Harlan wrote

Herblock in Washington Post

"Leggo—you're interfering with our rites!"

the majority opinion; Justices Hugo L. Black and William O. Douglas concurred but went further: they would have freed all 14 defendants on the ground that the Smith Act itself is unconstitutional. Justice Clark was again the lone dissenter. Justices Brennan and Whittaker did not participate.

CHIEF JUSTICE EARL WARREN
Bad day for the Inquisition

OTHERS MAY BE AIDED: There was no immediate indication that the Justice Dept. would re-try the nine. Defense attorney Ben Margolis, who represented 11 of the 14 defendants, said the defense is considering asking a rehearing for the nine by the Supreme Court with a request to dismiss the case. He said the Court's ruling "goes a long way toward restoring individual rights which were intended by the Constitution to have a high and preferred place in our society." The decision is expected to affect some 60 other Smith Act defendants throughout the country.

The 14 defendants themselves called the decision "the beginning of the end of the Smith Act. A great victory for the Bill of Rights has been won. By this victory for the rights of Communists, freedom of political opinion for all Americans has thereby been made the safer from the inroads of the inquisitors and the witch-hunters."

In another action on Monday, the Supreme Court refused to reconsider its recent ruling that Raphael Konigsberg of Los Angeles could not be barred from the practice of law as disloyal or a person of bad moral character because of past membership in the Communist Party.

GEORGE AND NABEJDA KOZMIN
The cold war shattered their family

ARE RUSSIANS ENTITLED TO THEIR SONS?

Couple leaves for Soviet Union; U. S. holds their 4 children

Special to the Guardian

CHICAGO

THE KOZMIN CASE has run perhaps its final chapter in the U.S. as far as the senior Kozmins, George and Nabejda, are concerned. The government made good its threat to deprive them of their youngest child, 9-month-old Peter, by taking the baby from his mother's arms as she boarded a train in the La Salle St. station. Peter is now to be assigned to a foster home by Family Court Judge John H. Clayton Jr., along with his three older brothers Richard, 10, George, 8, and Paul, 7, while the now childless parents make a new start in life for themselves in their native country, the Soviet Union (GUARDIAN, 6/3).

One significant sidelight to the Cook County deputies' seizure of the baby is the role played by the FBI. Had the Kozmins succeeded in leaving Cook County, they would have escaped beyond the jurisdiction of the Family Court. FBI agents, however, kept the parents under surveillance and tipped off the local authorities when they observed their departure with Peter.

THE FEDERAL HAND: Evidently troubled by the fact that there is no excuse

for the intervention of Federal authorities in a matter of purely local jurisdiction, early news reports spoke only of "agents of an unidentified governmental department."

This incident seemed to confirm a suspicion held by many that Federal authorities have exerted an unofficial guiding hand throughout the case, while leaving the nominal responsibility to Judge Clayton and the Cook County officialdom.

The Kozmins' somewhat hurried departure is explained by their desire to ensure that their fifth child, expected soon, not be born under the shadow of the Cook County Family Court.

"ILLOGICAL AND SILLY": On the ground that both parents had at one time been committed to mental institutions for reasons never fully made clear, the Family Court took custody of the children and used them in an attempt to dissuade the parents from returning to their homeland. The three older children are Soviet citizens; the baby holds dual citizenship.

Stephen Love, the Kozmins' attorney, denounced the latest act of the Family Court as "the most illogical, silly, impractical decision I've ever heard of in any court." He added: "The result will be used by the Russians for propaganda against us all over the world." Asked why the Kozmins wanted to leave in the first place, Love said: "They are just unhappy and want to go home. It's very simple."

"PROVINCIAL IGNORANCE": The Chicago **Daily News** in an editorial on June 13 called the U. S. intervention "meddlesome do-gooding" and said: "If the situation were reversed, and a Russian court held the children of a returning American couple, America would be screaming with rage . . . Now, America is assuredly a Christian country. But we have not reached the stage of fanaticism in which the children of atheists are automatically yanked from them and treated to the superior advantages of life in an orphans home.

"It is sheer provincial ignorance to assume that children cannot grow up well adjusted and happy in Russia merely because their ideas and their lack of religion is repugnant to us."

The next chapter in the pitiful struggle of the Kozmin family to be reunited will depend on the legal steps taken by the Soviet Embassy to appeal the decision of the Family Court.

On, MacDuff!

(N. Y. Times June 6, 1957: YOUTH CALLED "RISK" BECAUSE OF MOTHER. The U.S. Government has denied security clearance to a 26-year-old engineer of the Radio Corporation of America on the ground that he "currently maintained a close, continuing association" with his mother, an alleged pro-Communist.)

O mither, mither, mither 'tis said
That at my birth fell a wee drip o' red!

Alas that I was born of woman,
And woe that she should live so human!

A wud some power gie to me
Birthright of vegetability:

A carrot sprung up from the loam,
Calling innocent dirt my home;

Or a mineral mindless, cool,
Stagnant in a stagnant pool—

For how shall kinship be denied?
Past Dunsinane I ride, I ride. . . .

—Eve Merriam

Fitzgerald case

(Continued from Page 1)

"The government knows perfectly well that Mr. Fitzgerald is innocent of crime. That is why he has never been prosecuted for crime. That is why a trumped-up contempt charge had to be contrived as the only means to jail this innocent man. Mr. Bolan now reveals that the government intends to continue its systematic erosion of constitutional rights and liberties by making a dead letter of the ban on double jeopardy, as it has ignored guarantees of freedom of speech, freedom of association, and the privilege against self-incrimination.

"Mr. Fitzgerald will, I am sure, continue to fight and to defend the Constitution. The persecution the government is planning will be resisted to the highest court in the land."

REJECTED IMMUNITY: If convicted a second time of contempt, Fitzgerald faces a much longer sentence than six months. Federal Judge Lawrence E. Walsh, in pronouncing the first sentence, specified two-and-a-half years. He reduced it to six months only when it was pointed out that that was the sentence in the first case brought under the Compulsory Testimony Act, which was then still on appeal to the Supreme Court. But Judge Walsh warned that the sentence in future cases would be at least two-and-a-half years.

Fitzgerald, who has been under government harassment for 11 years, ever since he was first questioned by the FBI on the Bentley charges in 1946, had this to say when he was ordered to testify under the new "immunity" law in July, 1955:

"I wish to make the record very clear on one matter. I repudiate with resentment the government's offer to me of immunity from prosecution for any crime. The government has not formally charged me with any crime or prosecuted me. I seek no pardon or amnesty or immunity for any act of mine. I reject unconditionally the immunity tendered me in the grand jury proceedings."

EDWARD J. FITZGERALD
In perpetual jeopardy?

CAN'T BE BOUGHT: In a statement of his principles in the GUARDIAN last October, Fitzgerald said: ". . . I will not, under any grant of immunity from punishment for crimes I did not commit, submit to any inquisition about my beliefs, or about my associates or their beliefs." The day he surrendered to serve his sentence, he made this statement:

"Up until this last minute, the government has continued its efforts to get me to become their witness, hoping to bribe me with the promise that I could thus avoid imprisonment. I could, in other words, become a paid stoolpigeon. The pay—in this instance—would be . . . the physical freedom they are taking from me. My liberty is dear to me but I can live through a jail sentence. I could not live with myself as a captive informer forced to 'earn' my freedom by giving false testimony on government orders. I refused and will continue to refuse their offer.

"The attitude and actions of the government have confirmed my conviction that the Compulsory Testimony Law is an evil law. It is designed for the sole purpose of procuring false witnesses who will aid in the campaign to destroy freedom of expression and freedom of association . . ."

BENTLEY UNDER WRAPS: The Bentley tale of spies in government has been under scrutiny for some 12 years by the FBI; nine years by grand juries; eight years by a variety of Congressional committees. To date none of the 80-odd persons she named have been charged or indicted or tried or convicted for espionage, and the government has shielded her from cross-examination by those she has accused. In the Fitzgerald case, the government itself moved successfully to quash subpenas issued at his insistence for Bentley, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover and Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell.

'I shall never yield to tyranny'

Following is a partial text of the statement made by Edward J. Fitzgerald after his appearance before the Grand Jury on June 17:

The pretext for the new subpena is the same as that used last time—the suggestion that I have committed espionage against the United States. Before the Grand Jury today I categorically denied under oath that I ever spied or that I knew anyone who had or that I had ever committed any act which could remotely be linked to espionage. There was no area of doubt on that score after my testimony.

Moreover, the Constitution prohibits double jeopardy for the same offense. To repeat the same questions before another Grand Jury in order to elicit from me the same responses is clearly to put me twice in jeopardy for the same offense. Indeed, the power of subpena being what it is, I am in danger of successive prison sentences for the rest of my life, for I shall never yield to tyranny.

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*With apologies to Longfellow, Nash and to the art of poetry in general.

By the shores of cool Lake Ellis,
By the spreading tree lined waters
Is a camp that is not like others,
A place of joy where men are brothers.
Here old friends, both lads and and lasses,
Enjoy each day as summer passes;
Here for very little wampum
They feast on meals that almost swamp 'em.
Here is every sport that pleases,
Boating, hiking, swapping wheezes
Not to mention handball, swimming,
Baseball, tennis and chin chinning.
Here no matter what you do
You'll make new friends who like it too.
Painting, singing, music, dancing;
We make no statement on romancing.
And from romance with scarce a pause
Let's say a word 'bout kids of course:
How Ma relaxes 'cause she knows
Our Day Camp Staff is on its toes.
But look tho' running out of space
We've left out much to prove our case;
How all the guests at camp are humming
With words of praise 'bout private plumbing.
And on that homey note we cease:
Come up now, won't you pleace?

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Drawing by Fred Wright
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Action now

MENLO PARK, CALIF.

Direct political action that will bear immediate fruit is called for now that Speaker Sam Rayburn has expressed his concern over H-bomb test dangers and his hope for an international agreement to ban further tests. In the Senate, Clinton Anderson and Wayne Morse are already on record as against further tests.

Write to them and to your own Congressman, asking them to initiate immediately bills in the Senate and House calling for (1) cessation of Nevada tests; and (2) a demand that Britain and the Soviet Union end their tests.

Isobel M. Cerney

Postmark

GLEN WILD, N. Y.

To all those who wish to preserve mankind:

Atomic weapons tests must be halted if the human race of future years is to survive. We must unite in this movement for existence. Do your part. Write to your federal representatives. Write "STOP H-BOMB TESTS" on each piece of mail that you send.

Allen Young

Guardian Geigers?

HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.

Inasmuch as the uranium rush has by now largely subsided it should be fairly easy to obtain a stock of new and used Geiger counters at low cost. Why could not the Guardian Buying Service make these instruments available to its readers at the lowest price possible? Then, in a series of articles, the paper could print instructions as to the proper use of these counters to check vegetables, milk, water, fish, meat, etc., for radioactive contamination.

Not only would such a campaign serve to protect the health of ourselves and our children but should bring home in the most realistic terms possible the hazards we are running every day as result of the nuclear test operations in which several nations are indulging. **Mike Kilian**

Island in the sun

MIAMI, FLA.

The mere name . . .
Should have brought Christ to mind.
Christmas! When even the heart of a Scrooge is touched.

Rose Gisnet

Oh, brother!

SAFETY HARBOR, FLA.

Just about 10 years ago a grubby little town on the Texas oil coast was wiped out by a series of explosions beginning with a cargo of ammonium nitrate being loaded on a French freighter.

The tragedy of Texas City happened at the crack of dawn of the thermonuclear age. It occurred to no one to attribute it to other than the misbehavior of a chemical otherwise well-behaved. What if it were to happen today, or tomorrow?

The Pentagon at once would issue statements declaring that "no proof exists that the explosion was caused by an A-bomb smuggled into the port by agents of the U. S. S. R. At the same time heavy security guards would be placed around Texas City preventing even fire-fighters from approaching the waterfront and ensuring the death of an additional 300 to 500 men, women and children.

By nightfall radioactive fallout would be detected in San Antonio, Baton Rouge, and Kansas City. The Presidential palace at Augusta would be evacuated. The late editions of the press would scream for vengeance. Radio stations would be shut down. Civil defense helmets would blossom everywhere like poison mushrooms. And before dawn the next day the Strategic Air Command would roar toward Moscow and the Ukraine with the first happy summons to participate in the extinction of the human race.

You say it couldn't happen? Brother, I wish you were right!

Bernard Raymund

No alternative?

HAWKINS, WIS.

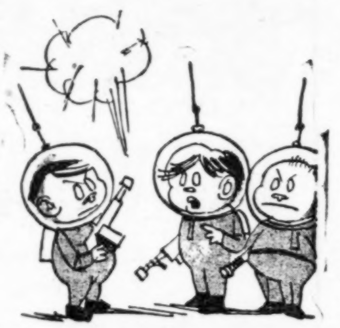
The powers that rule in this country tell us that we must maintain and build up our military strength to keep Russia from attacking us.

Those same powers have repeatedly admitted that there is nothing they would like better than to destroy communism in general and Russian communism in particular.

Therefore it must be that it is only Russia's great military strength that is keeping the boys in the "Pentagon" from attacking Russia.

Peace lovers have no alternative. All they can do is hope that both Russia and the U. S. remain militarily strong enough to keep from attacking each other.

William Rybarczyk



"I think we ought to stop behaving like grown-ups saying all the time 'My bang is louder than yours'."

Strike vote

SACRAMENTO, CALIF.

Has anyone suggested the general strike as the most effective way to bring about an immediate cessation of nuclear weapons testing? The need for general strikes has never been so imperative; the possibility of mass support has never been as great. Let's hear some discussion of this possibility.

Name Withheld

Trade & live

DETROIT, MICH.

The H-bomb is a dirty gamble, with human lives as the blue chips. Surely an exchange of butter for furs, or machinery for tungsten makes far more sense.

Eino Hiltunen

Clearance

PUEBLO, COLO.

Why not a resolution before the United Nations General Assembly that atomic and hydrogen devices be detonated only with UN sanction?

Paul Stewart

Fore!

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

Eighteen holes, and what do I get?
Strontium 90 and a nation in debt.
Don't come, sweet chariot, turn yore hosses;
I've sold my soul to the Wall Street bosses.
I hear you St. Peter, but I don't trus' ya
I'm blowin' up the earth to keep it from Russia.

E. S. C. R.

Better late than never

BAY SHORE, L.I.

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H. Townsend

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Lonesome Traveller
I Know Where I'm Going
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Goodnight Irene

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From Chekhov to Pavlov

A CERTAIN Mr., Mrs. or Miss Anon, from New York, complains of this Department's use of "a style slanted toward a very limited audience—the chosen few, the initiated, the superior ones, the aristocrats of the Left Wing—who can get the sly humor of references to 'your Uncle Vanya' . . . "

"First," says Anon, "he is NOT my Uncle Vanya and second, the advice on sleep is outmoded myth and nonsense . . . I'm not a nut on food and health but I think it is a pity that you print such ignorant advice such as not eating before going to bed and not to take an alcoholic drink. Actually both these practices are known to induce sleep—Uncle Vanya to the contrary . . . I cannot understand how your paper can slip into this kind of stuff. It started out as an independent left-wing paper and should stay that way. News of the Soviet Union, yes, but not to be a propaganda sheet for them.

"If you must let the copy writer indulge in purple prose (a disappointed writer, I would guess), at least you should not permit him to circulate ignorance in your paper."

ANOTHER correspondent, from California, writes: "Am a bit run down, having just done a four-minute mile backwards. Airmail two more bottles of your Therapeutic Formula; father wants to try it, too."

COMMENT: On Uncle Vanya, none; on sleep, get plenty of it, with or without snacks or schnapps; on four-minute milers, what's your hurry?

News note: Watch for our new Funnybone Formula to be taken with all advertising copy for those who can't digest a grain of salt.

Until it is packaged and ready, choose from the formulas below:

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Nationally advertised brand: $7.11
Guardian Price:
100 capsules, $3.75 ppd.

the SPECTATOR

A letter from a Freedman to his old Master

(Written just as he dictated it)*

Dayton, Ohio, August 7, 1865

To my old Master, Colonel P. H. Anderson.
Big Spring, Tennessee.
Sir:

I got your letter, and was glad to find that you had not forgotten Jourdon, and that you wanted me to come back and live with you again, promising to do better for me than anybody else can. I have often felt uneasy about you. I thought the Yankees would have hung you long before this, for harboring Rebs they found at your house. I suppose they never heard about your going to Colonel Martin's to kill the Union soldier that was left by his company in their stable. Although you shot at me twice before I left you, I did not want to hear of your being hurt, and I am glad you are still living. It would do me good to go back to the dear old home again, and see Miss Mary and Miss Martha and Allen, Esther, Green, and Lee. Give my love to them all, and tell them I hope we will meet in the better world, if not in this. I would have gone back to see you all when I was working in the Nashville Hospital, but one of the neighbors told me that Henry intended to shoot me if he ever got a chance.

I want to know particularly what the good chance is you propose to give me. I am doing tolerably well here. I get twenty-five dollars a month, with victuals and clothing; have a comfortable home for Mandy,—the folks call her Mrs. Anderson,—and the children—Milly, Jane, and Grundy—go to school and are learning well. The teacher says Grundy has a head for a preacher. They go to Sunday school, and Mandy and me attend church regularly. We are kindly treated. Sometimes we overhear others saying, "Them colored people were slaves" down in Tennessee. The children feel hurt when they hear such remarks; but I tell them it was no disgrace in Tennessee to belong to Colonel Anderson. Many . . . would have been proud, as I used to be, to call you master. Now if you will write and say what wages you will give me, I will be better able to decide whether it would be to my advantage to move back again.

AS TO MY FREEDOM, which you say I can have, there is nothing to be gained on that score, as I got my free papers in 1864 from the Provost-Marshal-General of the Department of Nashville. Mandy says she would be afraid to go back without some proof that you were disposed to treat us justly and kindly; and we have concluded to test your sincerity by asking you to send us our wages for the time we served you. This will make us forget and forgive old scores, and rely on your justice and friendship in the future. I served you faithfully for thirty-two years, and Mandy twenty years. At twenty-five dollars a month for me, and two dollars a week for Mandy, our earnings would amount to eleven thousand six hundred and eighty dollars. Add to this the interest for the time our wages have been kept back, and deduct what you paid for our clothing, and three doctor's visits to me, and pulling a tooth for Mandy, and the balance will show what we are in justice entitled to. Please send the money by Adam's Express, in care of V. Winters, Esq., Dayton, Ohio. If you fail to pay us for faithful labors in the past, we can have little faith in your promises in the future. We trust the good Maker has opened your eyes to the wrongs which you and your fathers have done to me and my fathers, in making us toil for you for generations without recompense. Here I draw my wages every Saturday night; but in Tennessee there was never any payday for the Negroes any more than for the horses and cows. Surely there will be a day of reckoning for those who defraud the laborer of his hire.

IN ANSWERING THIS LETTER, please state if there would be any safety for my Milly and Jane, who are now grown up, and both good looking girls. You know how it was with poor Matilda and Catherine. I would rather stay here and starve—and die, if it come to that—than have my girls brought to shame by the violence and wickedness of their young masters. You will also please state if there has been any schools opened for the colored children in your neighborhood. The great desire of my life now is to give my children an education, and have them form virtuous habits.

Say howdy to George Carter, and thank him for taking the pistol from you when you were shooting at me.

From your old servant,
JOURDON ANDERSON.

**THE FREEDMANS BOOK by L. Maria Child. Boston. Ticknor and Fields, 1865. Copy in the Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature of the N.Y. Public Library.*

For all boys

EUREKA, CALIF.

Much was said about the boy in the well. I wonder how many boys in America died because of the lack of medical care, yes, and even because the lack of food. How many boys were burned up by jellied gasoline in Korea? And how many boys were killed in the two senseless World Wars?

Some way must be found to dramatize the plight of millions of boys the world over.

Tom Scribner

Powell case fund aided by meeting

ON JUNE 7, Citizens for Democratic Socialism held their last forum of the season in New York. Julian Schuman of the Schuman-Powell case, spoke about China, and Carl Marzani, author and co-editor of the Liberty Book Club, discussed the Schuman-Powell case. A sum of $50 was collected for the Schuman-Powell defense fund.